

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ABU DH 02607 01 OF 02 230725Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 /026 W
-----101185 230727Z /11/14

R 190718Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6631
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY DOHA
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MANAMA
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
AMEMBASSY SANA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ABU DHABI 2607

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR
SUBJECT: MIDDLE EAST CONVERSATION WITH SAID GHUBBASH

1. DCM AND I CALLED ON MINISTER OF PLANNING SAID GHUBBASH
SEPT 18. GHUBBASH, AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, IS FORMER
UAE AMBASSADOR TO US AND RECENTLY DEPUTIZED FOR FON
MIN SUWAIDI TO REPRESENT UAE AT CAIRO ARAB FONMINS
CONFERENCE. I THEREFORE TOOK OPPORTUNITY GO OVER WITH
HIM GIST OF CURRENT WASHINGTON THINKING ABOUT MIDDLE
EAST PEACE TALKS BASED ON MY RECENT CONSULTATIONS IN
DEPARTMENT.

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2. IN DOING SO I STRESSED THAT US ADMINISTRATION REMAINS
FULLY DETERMINED SEEK RECONVENE GENEVA CONFERENCE THIS
YEAR IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. USG LOOKS AT FORTHCOMING MEETINGS
WITH ISRAELI AND ARAB FRONTLINE FONMINS IN WASHINGTON AND
NEW YORK AS NOT JUST ANOTHER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BUT AS PART
OF NEGOTIATING PROCESS. OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO TRY MOVE PAR-
TIES FROM THE GENERAL TO THE SPECIFIC AND TO RESOLVE PRO-

CEDURAL QUESTIONS REGARDING PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION.
I NOTED THAT STATEMENT BY DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN SEP. 12
ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT GENEVA WAS A STEP IN THIS
PROCESS.

3. CONTINUING, I SAID ISRAEL CAN BE UNDER NO ILLUSION ABOUT
USG ATTITUDE TOWARD ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS
IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. DESPITE STATEMENTS OF ISRAELI
MAXIMALISTS LIKE MINAGR SHARON AND OTHERS, WE THINK
THIS POINT HAS REGISTERED WITH ISRAEL AND HAS HAD SOME
EFFECT. ALSO, WE HAVE MADE CLEAR WE DO NOT AGREE WITH
ISRAELI STANCE THAT WEST BANK SHOULD NOT BE RETURNED
TO SOME FORM OF ARAB CONTROL AS PART OF AN OVERALL
PEACE SETTLEMENT AS SPECIFIED IN UNSC RES 242. ON
OTHER HAND, WE ARE IRISAPPOINTED THAT PLO HAS SO FAR
REJECTED ACCEPTANCE OF RES 242, EVEN WITH RESERVATIONS
THAT PALESTINIANS MUST BE CONSIDERED AS NATION RATER
THAN MERELY REFUGEES.

4. I THEN TOLD GHUBBASH WE HAVE ASKED EACH GOVERNMENT
PARTY TO THE CONFLICT TO SUBMIT IN WRITING WHAT IT THOUGHT
SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT. ISRAELIS
HAVE PUBLICIZED THEIR PROPOSALS. USG INTENDS MAKE ITS
OWN JUDGMENT HOWEVER ONCE ALL SUBMISSIONS RECEIVED
AS TO WHETHER DISTANCE BETWEEN PARTIES HAD BEEN NARROWED
SUFFICIENTLY THAT FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE SETTLEMENT
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APPEARED LIKELY.

5. FINALLY, I EMPHASIZED USG VIEW THAT ANY ATTEMPT BY
EITHER SIDE TO AMEND OR OTHERWISE WATER DOWN CONTENT
OF RES 242 WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO US. IF ARABS TRIED
TO DO SO, ISRAELIS TOO WOULD FIND REASONS FOR WISHING BE
RELIEVED OF THEIR OBLIGATION UNDER 242 TO RETURN OCCUPIED
ARAB TERRITORIES. FOR THESE REASONS WE FIRMLY
BELIEVE RES 242 MUST REMAIN INTACT AS IT ONLY
BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION UPON WHICH BOTH ISRAELI AND
ARAB FORNTLINE GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED.

6. GUHBBASH APPRECIATIVE OF BRIEFING BUT REMAINED
OBVIOUSLY SKEPTICAL THAT USG EFFORTS WILL ACHIEVE
SUCCESS GIVEN WHAT HE FELT WAS INTRANSIGENCE OF
ISRAELIS. GHUBBASH SAID MOOD AT CAIRO ARAB FONMINS
MEETING HAD EBEEN "BLEAK" WITH MODERATE ARABS FEELING
INCREASING PRESSURE FROM HARDLINERS. IF USG EFFORTS
IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON OVER NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS
FAIL PRODUCE ANY SIGNS OF PROGRESS TOWARD GENEVA,
MODERATE REGIMES WILL FIND THEMSELVES ON DEFENSIVE
AND SOME MAY EVEN BE SWEEPED AWAY.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----033256 200333Z /62

R 190718Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6632
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ABU DHABI 2607

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR MRN 2607 VICE 2697

7. GHUBBASH SAID HE PESSIMISTIC, DESPITE WHAT PUBLIC
OPINION POLLS MIGHT SAY, THAT USG WOULD FIND ENOUGH
SUPPORT WITHIN AMERICAN PUBLIC TO GET TOUGH WITH
ISRAEL IF LATTER'S OBDURACY WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR
STALEMATE IN CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS. NEITHER WAS HE
MUCH IMPRESSED WITH OUR OBSERVATION THAT ISRAELI PUB-
LIC OPINION LESS THAN MONOLITHIC IN SUPPORT OF BEGIN
GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCED ISISTENCE TO RETAIN WEST
BANK UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL. RE NON-ACCEPTANCE BY
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PLO OF RES 242, GHUBBASH SAID THAT PALESTINIANS UNLIKELY IN FACE OF ISRAELI REFUSAL TO DEAL WITH THEM UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THEY MIGHT GAIN BY RECOGNIZING ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, EVEN IF THIS RECOGNITION WERE QUALIFIED BY TIME LIMIT OR OTHER CONDITION LINKING ITS VALIDITY TO ISRAELI ACCEPTANCE OF PLO AS ONE OF PARTIES TO GENEVA CONFERENCE. TO GHUBBASH INQUIRY ABOUT PRESS REPORTS THAT USG HAS ESPOUSED CONCEPT OF UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION, WE RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS ONE OF SEVERAL POSSIBLE OPTIONS UNDER DISCUSSION WITH PARTIES.

8. COMMENT: GHUBASH IS NOT OF COURSE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR UAE FOREIGN POLICY NOR PRESUMABLY HAS GHUBBASH BEEN FULLY BRIEFED PRIVATELY ON STATE OF PLAY BY DIFFERENT ARAB CONFRONTATION STATES BUT HIS VIEWS REFLECT THOSE OF OTHERS IN UAEG. IN OUR DISCUSSION, HE PUT CONSIDERABLE EMPHASIS ON WHAT HE SEES AS POTENTIALLY EXPOSED AND UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION OF ARAB MODERATES (INCLUDING OF COURSE UAE) IF NO PROGRESS MADE THIS FALL IN NARROWING DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PARTIES. UAEG OFFICIALS LIKE GHUBBASH VERY MUCH AWARE THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT IS ESSENTIALLY A BY-STANDER WITH RELATIVELY LITTLE ABILITY TO INFLUENCE COURSE OF MIDEAST NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, RISING TIDE OF ARAB FRUSTRATION WOULD BRING PRESSURES ON MODERATES TO LOSSEN THEIR LINKS WITH US, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH GHUBBASH AS PLANNING MINISTER WOULD NOT RELISH.
DICKMAN

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